4th International Conference on Sustainable Future for Human Security, SustaiN 2013

Political Ideology Meaning and Patriarchal Ideology of Female Politicians in Indonesia: A Case in Malang

Vina Salviana Darvina Soedarwo*

Muhammadiyah University of Malang- Tlogomas No.243, Malang 65144, Indonesia

Abstract

The study analyzes the influences of the Javanese cultural political ideology towards Javanese woman politician’s life in democratic era in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. The study focuses on how aliran political ideology and patriarchal ideology influence the existence of woman politicians. The study aims to understand the woman politicians as subject (self) or others, especially when cultural ideology limits their existence. The methodology of this research is interpretive-interaction method. The finding of this study shows that the existence of woman politicians is no longer regarded as fully other; instead it goes towards subject (self). That indicates a process of progressive democracy and thus supports sustainable democracy in Indonesia.

Keywords: political ideology; aliran; patriarchal ideology; other; subject (self); democracy.

1. Introduction

The picture of the journey of women involvement in the parliament in the national context started when women were given rights to join and to compete in the 1955 general election. Historically, however, the level of representation of women politicians in Indonesia was still low as noted by Budi Shanti that women only obtained 3.8% from 236 parliament members and 6.3% from 272 members during 1950-1955 legislative period (Temporary Parliament) and 1955 and 1960 legislative periods, respectively[1] For the next 30 years, the highest (women) representation was 13% during the 1987 – 1992 legislative period; meanwhile in the 1999 general election, the

*Corresponding author. Tel : +62-341-464318 ext:165; Fax: +62-341-460782
Email address: vina_salviana@yahoo.co.id
condition of the quantity of women as legislative members was still low, that is, below 30%, and this also happened at the provincial levels and at other strategic areas [1].

The case in Malang Raya also showed a similar pattern whether at central or provincial levels. In Malang regency, there were only 6 women out of 45 parliament members, and in Batu City, just 1 woman out of 25 parliament members [2]. The phenomenon related with the presence of female politicians in the central, provincial or local parliaments, shows the same symptom in which, viewed from the quantity, they have not fulfilled the expected quota.

Wieringa [3], using a historical perspective, also gives an amazing evidence that the movement of women in Indonesian politics is hardly free from people’s perspective that woman is other'. The movement of the communist women organization once really showed itself, but such a condition made the organization “emasculated” and killed.

The above reality proves that the perspective that women are more proper to occupy the domestic position and are not suitable to join in a political world still exists. Of course, such a perspective becomes one of the obstacles that hinders women to play any political role. There are also external obstacles that make it difficult for them to accommodate various opposing expectations. This condition results in internal obstacle that may reduce the level of their political roles, making them tend to participate in local areas.

Concerning with the preference of female politicians to take part at local areas, it is proved by Shirin M Rai et al. [4] shows that (a) women are more comfortable with local participation, (b) “local” is nearer to people need (at the grass root level), and (c) “local” gives a higher degree for them than “high politics”. 

From this study, it may be assumed that female politicians prefer to “everyday politics” or “day to day politics” in which the issues in the programs they develop tend to lead into prosperity issues (improvement of incomes, health services, mothers and children issues). This is also the case in Malang Raya where female politicians tend to discuss problems on improving women incomes through education, health, awareness of right in families and job provision.

Even in the case of Minangkabau community which adopts Islamic identity but matriarchal line—some causes have been identified in Nurwani Idris [5] using a grounded theory method—there found that that women position in the community is really low in the parliament. They are marginalized from the political life, and men have control over the domain of political leadership. He also explains that culture and religion influence women participation in political life. Besides, the women themselves have not been sensitive to politics and show low interest in it. Therefore, what Nurwani Idris finds is that it is a reality that the local politicians in Minangkabau are in the space of liyan (other), not in the space of subject (self) yet.

Back to Malang regency and Malang City, the obstacles women politicians encounter are almost the same. The obstacles are from the inner parts of the parties themselves. For example, the chairs of the parties who have not given full authorities to their members to play more roles, the external obstacles of the parties, such as cultural dominant with patriarchal pattern, time division and full power, and these make them difficult to play their roles as female politicians [6]. This condition is aggravated by other conditions such as a strong color of politics of so-called aliran in Javanese culture, and such a belief still exists up to this reformation era whose main goal is democracy [7].

In the new order era, there was a “de-aliranisation” in the political form in Indonesia. Thus, the government and Indonesian Armed Forces had initiated the formation of three big political parties and the emergence of huge power of military. It began prior to 1990s and continued to last in the reformation era, due to euphoria of the “coming” back of politic aliran with the growth of new parties. The phenomenon of women organizations with affiliation to political parties still exists.

Based on the research by Geertz made in Mojokuto (1960), there are three variants of Javanese community:

---

1 Liyan is translated from other, where it is from Javanese, liyane, meaning others, other people, instead of me or not myself.
2 High politics is meant as a political tendency colored with war, battle and masculinity. It is explained by a biological concept that testosterone hormone may increase aggressive behavior and culturally “war” gives meaning of heroism.
3 This term is introduced by Geertz [15]. In particular, an aliran consists of a political party surrounded by a set of sodalities— that is, voluntary organizations — formally or informally linked to it. In postwar Mojokuto the four parties were the Nationalist Party (Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, or PNI), the Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, or PKI), the Reform Moslem Party (Masyumi), and the Conservative Moslem Party (Nahdatul Ulama, or NU). With one or another of these parties as nucleus, an aliran was a cluster of nationalist organizations – women’s clubs, youth groups, boy scouts, charitable societies, cooperatives, lending societies, private schools, athletic clubs, religious organizations, labor and peasant unions, art groups, trade organizations – sharing a similar ideological direction or standpoint and loyalty to the same all Indonesia leadership.
abangan, santri, priyayi [7] but in this research, he did not discuss it based on gender difference since society members, either men or women, have been divided into these three variants. When Geertz explained his research subject named Juminah (an abangan woman), it seems that the group of abangan women had a conflict with that of santri-women’’ but Geertz did not elaborate his explanation into the matter of gender differences [7].

Himawan Bayu Patriadi’s ethnographic research also concludes that social division into abangan and santri communities will always exist and is realized in the people-political orientation. The process of santrinization that intensively happened in 1980s gave impacts on the voters’ behavior in 1999 in which the majority of santris came back to vote an NU party namely PKB. A large number of abangan people that have become “santries” were still reluctant to vote this Islam-based party, and they still elected PDIP [8].

According to the findings from Patriadi’s research, the 2004 general election in Malang was characterized by politic aliran as a factor that influences the voters’ behavior although not much. This tendency is caused by the implementation of new regulations on general election such as the region system-based election (dapil) in which a voter elects a candidate like a party. It seems that prestige and reputation of local candidates are important for a party in order to get maximum support in the local general election [8].

From the two researches on the political ideology aliran above, it can be implied that since 1950s up to the reformation era in Java, the politic aliran has still characterized the political orientation. But the two researches do not really touch upon the case of gender differences. Either Wieringa, Nurwani Idris, or Shin Eun-yong’s study shows that a patriarchal ideology still characterizes the “movement” of female politicians in particular and women in general; meanwhile, Geertz and Patriadi’s studies prove that in Java there is a politic aliran, so the studies may enrich the knowsledges on patriarchal ideology and political ideology called aliran that characterize politicians in Java including female politicians.

Based on the above phenomena, studies on ideology as a cultural system are interesting if related to the figure of female politicians especially when they are faced with two ideologies: political ideology aliran and patriarchal ideology, as this may place them either as in liyan (other) position, or as subject (self).

2. Research Problem

This study tries to answer the following research questions: “Is it true that the political ideology and the patriarchal ideology put more emphasis on the existence of female politicians (at local level) during reformation/democratic era?” [2]. Then the objectives of this study are to (a) challenge, correct and complete a thesis Geertz proposed on ‘Ideology as a Cultural System’; (b) explore and describe the subjects’ understanding (woman politician at local level) of subject (self) in the stock of a political ideology aliran and patriarchal ideology and (c) identify various complexities and social processes that place female politicians as other.

3. Methodology

In this present research an interpretive-interaction, a mode of critical qualitative research, was employed. It is a type of research trying to create meanings encompassing the world of life experiences that may be accessed by “readers”. Moreover, it also tried to catch and represent voices, emotions, and learned actions. And it was focused on life experiences which radically grow and form personal meanings existing in themselves.

The type of reality studied is a subjective reality in the micro scope. The number of subjects was 7 female politicians plus some informants, namely, their husbands, chairs/boards of political parties and their supported team to succeed in election. Therefore, the total number is 22 persons. The procedure to choose these 7 female politicians was based on purposive principle. The criteria of purposive principle are (a) the 7 female politicians are from the big political parties in Indonesia such as PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), PKS (Prosperous Justice

**Juminah stated that in her kampoeng, santri women are often mocked although they wear veils but their behaviors did not show their religiosity, they still did sexual act outside marriage. Geertz analyses that condition leads to hostility, as usual santri’s moralism is considered to be holier than that anything the abangan people hate. But there is another aspect from this conflict, anything central to the ideological pattern, universalism and santri’s salvationism also raise an attack from pragmatic relativistic abangan group. p 477-78.

†† p. 364.

Hermeneutics is assigned to show that any understanding of others and their signals existing in different cultures happens simultaneously with human understanding of themselves and of “existence” [2] ***.

Hermeneutic tradition always treats a text as the main tool relating the present and the past. If a text may be viewed as a certain autonomous work, an interpretation can be seen as a type of reading that responds the autonomy by describing jointly elements of “understanding” and “explanation” (erklären) and then combine them in a process of complex interpretation [9]. Text studied in this context is an event that female politicians experience when they “read” through a combination between understanding and explanation they interpret themselves.

It means that experiences of female politicians should be read from their expressions. Studies on expressions are made through interpretation. Interpretation may near something far timely, geographically, culturally or spiritually. By interpretation we may “rehear” female politicians’ experiences since their childhood to their present position as politicians. Hermeneutic raises a matter of how these politicians express their experiences. Therefore, hermeneutics is formulated as a theory of the operation of understanding in terms of the interpretation of political ideology as texts. In this study a number of events the female politicians experienced in the past are always related to the present events. Events in childhood, in adolescent, in jobs and in organizations, and in families are related to events when they become politicians at present.

Ricoeur discussed a basic form of ideology namely “hermeneutics of daily life”. In this form, ideology is a structure that unites all members into a group and maintains the past traces. Ideology functions as a unifying tool. According to him, a social group should integrate itself and its past, an image that may be shown to the whole group members [9] **. In the context of the political ideology aliran in Java, ideology may understood to be function as a uniting tool of a group, whether santri, priyayi or abangan groups. This political ideology abangan may be seen as a “hermeneutics of daily life”.

4. Woman as Other

Simone de Beauvoir††† is a feminist existentialists influenced by Sartre who called woman as “second sex” since she is excluded from public activities in which man is free to involve in it [10]. Beauvoir’s study explained that man is named “man” the self and “woman” and “other”‡‡‡. If this other is a threat for self, then woman for man. Therefore, if man wants to be free, he should subordinate woman. Clearly, gender oppression is merely a form of oppression [11]. It is explained by Dorothy Kauffman McCall that oppression to woman is an interrelated historical fact [11]. Woman is always dominated by man. Woman has internalized a strange perspective that man is essential. This is influenced by a biological point of view on the differences between man and woman.

Beauvoir confirms that the body has not enough capability to define women, if there is not a real fact of life except as manifested by an aware individual through activities and what exists in the society. Biology is inadequate to answer any question raised on why woman is other, meaning that woman actually exists for herself, without any

---

†††Ibid, p. 111.
‡‡‡Ibid, p.303.
††† Simone de Beauvoir is a novelist and social critic who writes The Second Sex in 1972 published by Penguin (Giddens, 1993:173).
‡‡‡ The word ‘other’ or ‘constitutive other’ is a key concept in psychology and philosophy coming from a translation of French autrui meaning “the other person”. The other person meets with us directly and is involved with a number of experiences in daily life, meaning that we meet a multiplicity of other persons.
opinion that sexuality is a reduced datum, and sexuality is one of many other aspects. Beauvoir also states that a social role is in line with the main mechanism used by self, subject, to master other, object. She is of opinion that women accepts her ‘otherness’ as a feminine mystery, derived from one generation to another through socialization. The concept ‘self’ from Beauvoir may be stated that women who becomes self is a woman possessing (political) power as man, while she becomes other if she has no (political) power working as a housewife.

Beauvoir realizes that the legal, political, economic, social and cultural situation obstructs women and that women let themselves be tied and hindered by the number of situation. According to Beauvoir, culture will bother professional tasks of women as politicians. Even when a political party as an organization always has an element of coercion, it is this element that is usually tied to authority. The relationship to this authority will exist if those possessing it, for example, are willing to recognize any norms regulating the relationship among them [12]. As long as they agree with their position in the lower rank and to what extent they admit the position, it is a fact that will show the degree of the integration between the hardness and authority elements. In a political party, the authorities belong to the chair of the party. The process of selection and nomination tends to be bias to women where “male” characteristic is given an emphasis and often becomes criteria in selecting a candidate. In order to avoid such a bias, in some countries, a quota system is applied although woman’s voice that has a gender interest is still questioned.

According to Flax, Haraway and de Lauretis, the gender interest may not be understood abstractly and universally if we may admit that condition that women is placed at an intersection of many relationships of inter- and sometimes opposing oppressions and that women are seen in a process that makes their identities formed by and result in the various relationships [3]. Thus, such gender interest is formed from various complex and flexible elements that are defined and prioritized in a political process.

Lawless study (2004) concludes that a symbolic representation is not a dyadic relationship between the number of (woman) members in the Congress and their (woman) constituents but more related to the political attitudes and behavior of men. Moreover, it is representation of political attitudes and behavior of women. From the study, it is clear that women participating in field of politic do not represent the political attitudes and behavior of women but are still constructed by masculine image. It is caused by the culture of masculine political parties or in other words (in de Beauvoir terminology) female politicians are still placed as other. However, in democratic era, we know that men and women as politicians are equal.

5. Ideology of a Cultural System: Political Ideology Aliran and Patriarchal Ideology

A study on ideology has a long and complex history, but at least it has developed from two main perspectives. First, ideology is considered as a “thinking system,” “belief system”, and “symbolic practices” which are related to social and political actions. This perspective may be categorized as the adherent of a neutral conception on ideology. Second, ideology shows a more critical conception tying an analysis of ideology in critical questions [9].

Geertz, citing Fallers says that ideology possesses a cultural dimension with apologetic justification – ideology refers to a part of cultural which is actively focused on an order and defense of value and belief patterns [13]. Since there is a tendency for the two to be contradictory to one another if they lead to the interpretation of the range of the same situation, it becomes clear that the contradiction cannot be avoided and that the findings of social sciences will destroy the whole beliefs and values the ideology chooses to be maintained and disseminated [13]. Geertz stresses that although a culture is ideational (non-physical) but it exists in one’s head, and it is not a hidden entity. It seems that a debate on culture is endless, especially when dealing with whether it is objective, idealistic, logic, or behavioral, impressionistic or positivistic. He thinks that culture is public since meaning is public. Therefore, it is similar with political ideology as a cultural system such in Indonesia.

---

Neutral means not separate between types of action and ideology animation, presence ideology in each political program, ignoring any program in order to maintain and transform social orders.

Critical means a concept of ideology is connected to the process of justification of unsymmetrical power relation, concerning with the process of domination justification. See, John B. Thompson, Analisis Ideologi: Kritik Wacana Ideologi-ideologi Dunia, translated by Haqqul Yakin (Yogyakarta:2003), p.17.
6. Political Ideology *Aliran* in Javanese Community

The term *aliran* named after Geertz’ findings in Mojokuto in 1953-1954 show that there are social groups formed on the basis of their life view, religious belief, ethical preferences and their political ideology. There are also three social types of groups. The three groups are integrated on the basis of an *aliran* system. *Aliran* is an Indonesian word coming from the word *alir* meaning a small river, a flow and then it is related to an opinion or desire which then ideologically determines political factions powered by moral ambition. An *aliran* in the form of political parties is surrounded by a number of organizations either voluntarily, formally or informally [14].

The three groups of ideologies are: first, *abangan* with religion variants that stress the Javanese syncretic animism aspect which as a whole and in general is associated with an element of village farmers; second, *santri* group emphasizing Islam syncretism aspect and generally is associated with trader elements (and certain element of farmers); and third, *priyayi* group, stressing Hinduism aspect and is associated with a bureaucratic elements. The division or separation is made by the Javanese people themselves, Geertz [15]. At reformation era, political romanticism has risen. In 2009 general election, there were 48 political parties based upon religions, nationalism and other bases. Some of the political parties showed that their ideologies were based on cultural ideology.

7. Patriarchal Ideology and Community

Besides the political ideology *aliran* that may be traced from the value system of each community, there is also a cultural factor, which are nearer with a strong ideology in a community in terms of the differences of gender, namely patriarchal ideology. Literally, patriarchy means a number of rules from father/men, but not it is meant as man domination under the rule of father, including the rules or husband, man “boss, or the men’s league” in various political and economic institution shortly called “men’s house” [16]. There are two roles in social world: male role and female role. One of the roles of women is to bear and take care of children, a role that has been adopted in various cultures. Because of her roles as mother and care givers, women are absorbed into domestic activities.

Dealing with power, Millet in her book *Sexual Politics* (1970) states that sex is politics, especially the relationship between men and women that is a paradigm from all power relationships. Millet’s opinion on the patriarchal ideology exaggerates and ascertains that men always have masculine and dominant roles whereas women always play subordinate or feminine roles. This ideology is so strong that men are usually capable of getting any agreement where men oppress women. They do this through institutions such as academy, churches and families that justify and ascertain the subordination of women on men. As a result, this condition makes women internalize the feeling of inferiority towards men [11].

From some reviews above, it can be stated that a patriarchal ideology formed by cultural and social construction in a community is an ideology (a) that hierarchically places men on the upper (dominant) position and women on lower (subordinate) position in a social structure, (b) clings to a community when it divides roles of men and women, where men play more roles in public space (masculine roles) and women in domestic space (feminine roles), (c) forms a feeling of superiority for men and internalizes of inferiority feeling for women.

It is also the case in Indonesian community in which patriarchal ideology sticks to a phenomenon of politics, that is, the belief that politics is more suitable for men since politics is crude, hard, full of tricks and needs a lot of works out of houses, that it is clearly not proper for women. Women are more suitable to staying homes (domestic sector) of which the jobs are soft, needs patience, and the like). This ideology also hegemonizes [2] women’s thoughts so that women are uncertain to play in an all out fashion in the field of politics. It means that the patriarchal ideology also implies any political actions of women.

It can be concluded that the patriarchal ideology gives an implication for political actions of female politicians. Therefore, the characteristics of political actions of female politicians that are still influenced by the patriarchal

---

†††† In Gramsci’s understanding it is easy to see that the power of men is a hegemony power, because women realize or not realize for accept the power of men commonly (Arief Budiman, 1985:37). See also Salviana, *Politisi Perempuan dalam Pasungan Ideologi Politik Aliran dan Ideologi Patriarkhi* (Studi Interaksiisme Interpretif di Kalangan politisi Lokal Malang Raya), research report of Hibah Disertasi Doktor, 2009-2010. Contract Number: 008/H3/KR/2009. 16th April 2009, DIPA UNAIR, p. 42.
ideology, among others, (a) are still under the power of male politicians, (b) still more consider elements of family prosperity, (c) is still impressed to be “uncertain” if faced with some pressure from the thoughts of male politicians. From the description, the political ideology *aliran* and patriarchal ideology may be seen as an ideology as a cultural system that characterizes the political actions of female politicians.

8. Analysis

Political life is often regulated by norms and values based on male perspective and in some cases based on male lifestyle. For an example, a political model which is based on ideas of “the winner and the looser”, competition and confrontation, not based on the spirit of respect, collaboration and consensus creation. It contradicts to female style. Also, job pattern which is dominated by men is reflected in the job schedule of the parliament member. It makes female politicians face a lot of pressure. Emotionally, women remain tied with domestic tasks. It is the manifestation of love and caring. In fact, now days most of programs and parliament’s meeting times are not tolerated and determined by women perspective.

From the research results, the existence of female politicians shows the following patterns: The first pattern is the existence of female politicians whose political ideology is strong but whose patriarchal ideology has shifted into a transition. It means that these politicians are not as others but approaches as selves. Those in this category is the ones from PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party “Perjuangan”) of which its ideology is *aliran abangan* and PKS (Prosperous Justice Party), *aliran santri*. The second pattern is the existence of female politicians whose political ideology *aliran* has been weak, but whose patriarchal ideology has shifted into a transition. Those in this category are from PKB (Nation Resurgence Party) of which its ideology is *aliran (santri)* but with rational orientation and has move s self (possessing political power) although there is still an element of other as wife or mother.

The third pattern is the existence of female politicians show that patriarchal ideology has been weak (transition) and political ideology has also shifted into the orientation of grass root aspiration. Female politicians in this category are those from PPP (United Development Party) and PAN (National Commission Party) with variations of uniqueness of each politician. For female politicians from PPP, their political ideology *aliran* is clearer than those from PAN, but the politicians from PPP are more in selves since they are not involved in the roles as wives or mothers.

The fourth pattern is the existence of female politicians whose patriarchal ideology still characterizes their political actions but their politics *aliran* is oriented into rational one. It means that in this category female politicians are still as others where they are still involved in domestic work, but their political ideology *aliran* is not strong. Those in this category are from PD (Democrat Party) and Golkar with a bit variations in which their political ideology *aliran* is stronger than those from PD but has shifted into a rational orientation and still regarded as other (do not possess political power). The following is a picture of the existence of female politician dealing with their political ideologies. Besides, the patterns of existence of female politicians, factors influencing their attitudes or behavior in terms of their political ideology *aliran* and patriarchal ideology are also obtained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>Political Ideology</th>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Patriarchal Ideology</th>
<th>Causes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PDIP</td>
<td>strong (<em>abangan</em>)</td>
<td>socialization of values</td>
<td>weak leading into self</td>
<td>self-help in economy, experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKS</td>
<td>strong (<em>santri</em>)</td>
<td>socialization of values</td>
<td>weak leading into self</td>
<td>experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
<td>declining, leading into rational</td>
<td>socialization of values</td>
<td>weak transition into self</td>
<td>self-help in economy, experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>declining, rational</td>
<td>experiences</td>
<td>weak leading into self</td>
<td>self-help in economy, experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>declining, rational</td>
<td>experiences</td>
<td>strong, other</td>
<td>not self-help in economy, chairs of political parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golkar Party</td>
<td>strong, (<em>priyayi</em>)</td>
<td>socialization of values</td>
<td>strong, other</td>
<td>chairs of political parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat Party</td>
<td>rational orientation</td>
<td>experiences</td>
<td>strong, other</td>
<td>not self-help in economy, chairs of political parties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings of this present research are as follows. *First*, there are four patterns of the existence and political
ideologies of female politicians namely (1) female politicians viewing that their existence is not full as other or has shifted into subject (transition) but their political ideology is strong, (2) female politicians viewing that their existence is not full as other or their existence has shifted into subject (transition) but their political ideology is weak (declining aliran-based orientation) (3) female politicians viewing that their existence is not full as other or has shifted into subject (transition) but with rational based orientation (4). Female politicians viewing that their existence is not fully as other or their political ideology have fully shifted into rational-based orientation. From the findings in this study, the existence of female politicians who did not fully become other has shifted into subject (self). Their existence whether as other or subject is influenced by the social context in which they live.

Second, the political ideology aliran in Java indeed is a cultural system. Javanese cultural system produces social division in the community as santri, priyayi and abangan. But, along with the time and experiences of female politicians, political parties also shift, where the political ideology in Java is not that Geertz explained in the era of 1950s. The political ideology aliran has shifted, and not all female politicians from Islam-based parties possess strong ideologies in line with their political parties. It is also the case of female politicians categorized as priyayi, where the political ideology priyayi is not strong anymore. It is the politicians from PKS and PDIP who are strong in their aliran political ideology. For politicians from PAN, PPP, PKB, Golkar Party and PD, their political ideology aliran has shifted into a rational-orientation. Other aspects that have caused the shift of political ideology aliran are their level of education and the system of managing cadres of the female politicians who also have shifted. It shows that Indonesia toward democratic system.

Third, a patriarchal ideology is a cultural system. This ideology is full of a web of symbol rising from the process of socialization that happens all the time from one generation to another. From individual experiences, it can be understood how the political ideology clings to or nit in the “selves” of female politicians. Life experiences from childhood to adulthood are accumulated into sediments in memories as an entity that may be known and retrieved as their memories. When socialization of values from the start (childhood) has nuance of gender equality, the selves” of the female politicians will grow the ideology without any patriarchal characteristics and will be able to face any obstacles of patriarchy in their social world. In fact, at the society level, this patriarchal ideology also shifts when the time passes. There is something that causes the fading of the patriarchal ideology namely the socialization of values in the families of the politicians, level of their education, experiences in organizations, self-help in economy, and support from husbands whose insights of gender equality are good as the nearest persons in their lives and support from the chairs of their political parties. All of the aspects above can support sustainable democracy in Indonesia, especially for women participation in politics.

9. Discussion

From this study, some notes on the thesis Geertz has proposed can be made, namely ideology is as a cultural system but the political ideology aliran and also patriarchal ideology have shifted on the basis of experiences individuals face. In this study, there are some corrections to the Geertz’s thesis in his research that politics aliran in Java (1950s) was so strong but in this research it is not so. In the study on the political ideology aliran whether it is abangan, santri, or priyayi that declines, especially in the post-reformation era, it is found that although the growth of tens of political parties in this era tried to dig up the romanticism of politics aliran, it is meaningless. The growing political ideology is precisely oriented into the fulfillment of the real needs of the people; or in other words it can be called as a rational-based orientation.

The results of this present research corrected the theses Beauvoir proposing that legal, political, economic, social and cultural situations hinder women and that women let themselves tied and blocked by a number of the situations. In this research, it is not the case, since on the basis of the findings, women actually did not let themselves absorbed in the situations but women had been trying to escape from them. It means the continuation of other is not automatically accepted by women.

This study corrected the thesis of Arivia that “Gender cannot be said to be merely a part of lebenswelt, since gender cannot be seen as a whole individuals themselves. No person is free from his sex and concept of gender. The experience of our sexual need makes us always aware of our sex and our construction of gender. Sex is something from the part of our body, and our body is a part of ourselves, the unity of sexuality and the body is inseparable from the definition of self as person”. In fact in this study, female politicians, although biologically are female, but when their mind is able to think and then to act which is not in line with their construction of gender, they are actually able to be subject (self), instead of as other who is passive and submissive to the condition of “oppression” from men to
women. A number of politicians from various political parties in this research are able to do so.

This study is in line with the opinions of Shirin M Rai, Farzana Bari, Nazmunessa Mahtab and Bidyut Mohanty (2006) showing that if women are more comfortable with participating in the local politics than in any larger scale. It can be seen from the finding that the program of female politicians at the local level of Malang Raya who tend to merely fulfill the people’s needs. This study is in line with the results of research of Prosperina D. Tapales on female politicians in the Philippines their involvement in political life are from their families who are also politicians namely their husbands or fathers elected as politicians.

This study also reinforced the findings of Karl Oskar Lindgren, Magdalena Inkinen and Sten Widmalm (2009) in their research in India working on 5000 respondents either coming from elites or ordinary people where the results were very amazing that female politicians were not only better than male politicians in joining into politics but women were better to represent male politicians. In line with Lindgren’s study, this study also showed that female politicians had a better “morality” since they were not involved in “money politics”, in socialization of general elections and in campaigns and in further process, they obey the regulations as stipulated in the system.

10. Conclusion

The findings of this research can be concluded as follows: (a) women involved in the stage of politics need a long and hard journey, “should” obtain permissions from their husbands or fathers and “blessing” from the chairs of political parties; (b) women entering into the field of politics are still paced at the part of “womenness” such as treasures, chairs of woman affairs and the like. It means that the job divisions still sexually exist; (c) behavior of female politicians entering into the “area” of male politicians is considered improper, such as coming into hotels/cafes, going home late at night and so on; (d) female politicians are stocked by political ideology aliran and patriarchal ideology so that they are on a cross-road. It means that women are never to be subject completely as “I” (in the Mead’s concept) and (e) women active in public sectors should also be involved in activities in domestic sector.

The findings above show that since the 2009 General Election Indonesia has seen a meaningful shift of the existence of female politicians concerning their progress in the legislative stage. At present during the last eight years, some provinces have supported women’s involvement in parliament, and also in executive institutions. This shows that a more progressive process of democracy has occurred though Indonesian women never fully become self, meaning that there are still domestic roles that should be played although the “portion” declines. So, in local level, the political ideology aliran was not emphasis the existence of female politicians more, but patriarchal ideology still emphasis the existence of female politicians.

The recommendation to decrease the emphasis are (a) the female politicians should have high levels of education and followed by some gender awareness of the chairs of political parties. (b) Give the Indonesian people (at local level) political education with gender awareness. The two points will make female politicians in Indonesia obtain better opportunities to occupy strategic positions either in legislative or executive institutions, and this may support the acceleration of sustainable democracy.

Acknowledgement

I gratefully acknowledge that the research of the paper was financially supported by The Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia.

References